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The EXAMINER.

From Monday April 26, to Friday April 30, 1714.

Minore metu, & majore præmio peccatur. Tacitus.

EVERY *Faction*, that grows to a formidable Size, muſt have ſomething in it of the Shadow and Reſemblance of that Form of Government, under which it is erected. It could not well ſubſiſt nor be of any long continuance, if it had not many of the conſtituent Parts and Marks of a *Society*. There muſt be Leaders and Followers, in Imitation of Subject and Sovereign; there muſt be Contracts and Articles of Agreement, in Imitation of Laws and Statutes; and there muſt be Clubs and Meetings, in Imitation of Courts and Senatorial Aſſemblies; the better to keep up the Confederacy, after the manner of all other Bodies Politick. And hence a *Faction* has at leaſt the Face and Appearance of a Government; tho' for want of a Legal Right and Authority, both in its Riſe and Progreſs, and becauſe the Ends it propoſes are deſtructive of Publick Good, therefore we are not allow'd to call it by that Honourable Name.

When once a *Faction* hath got Footing in a State, either by the Degeneracy and Corruptions of the Age or Country, or by the frequency of Changes and Revolutions, it is in the Nature of a Rival to the Government, and takes all its Meaſures accordingly. The general Method is to ſteal the Weights out of the oppoſite Scale, and put them into its own: To Counterpoiſe thoſe Powers, which are too heavy for it, and to Split and Divide the Community; that its Leaders may come in for a ſhare of the Hearts and Affections of the People: To Batter and Undermine every Eſtabliſhment, and out of thoſe Ruins to build upon its own Model, and fortify it on every Side: To leſſen the Authority of thoſe in Power, and to render all the Publick Meaſures ſuſpected by the People: To diſarm the Force of Juſtice, and intimidate the Hearty and Zealous, by loud Clamours of Tyranny and Perſecution; and at the ſame time to awe the Weak, and thoſe of a quiet, peaceable Temper, with falſe Accounts of their Adverſary's Forces, and the Terrors of their future Reſentment: To make Court to the Paſſions, Humours, and Vices of others; to erect and open an Aſylum or Refuge for all the weak, diſguſted, or uneaſy Members of the Community; and either to carry on the Confederacy by a common Stock, or feed their Dependents with the near and bewitching Proſpect of ſome future great Expectations. Theſe are the uſual Artifices by which the Friends to *Faction* ſtrengthen and ſupport themſelves; and if by theſe means they can fill the *Legiſlative* or *Executive* Branch with their Creatures; if they can Subdivide the oppoſite Party, and break that Bulk of Power, which ſhould ſuppreſs them, into Parcels and Cantlets, ſo as to play one Part of the Conſtitution againſt the other; if they can ſeduce and draw the Mob to their Side; if they can load and entangle the State with Foreign Alliances; if they can let in ſome *Third Power*, or bring Matters to a Criſis or Juncture of Confuſion; they will then have a fair Opportunity of compaſſing their Deſigns; their Country may probably be reduced to their Mercy; they, who were before a *Faction*, may ſoon grow into a *Miniſtry*; and what was only a *Confederacy*, may in time come to be the *Conſtitution*, at leaſt to engroſs all its Powers and Profits by *Right* of *Poſſeſſion* and *Uſurpation*. *Hiſtory* is full of Inſtances of this kind; where a *Faction* hath, by theſe Methods, work'd it ſelf to an *Eſtabliſhment*. Thus many of the *Republicks* in *Greece* came to be Erected. This was the Caſe of ſome of thoſe *States* and *Polities*, which were form'd upon the Downfal of the *Roman Empire*; and the Moderns are not without Examples to the ſame Purpoſe; which any common Obſerver may recollect, who has ever heard of the *Laudable Cantons* of *Switzerland*, or the *Bank* of *St. George* at *Genoa*. *Liberty* was the popular Cry and main Pretence, in all theſe Civil Commotions; but *Power* was the Thing really aim'd at; and the Moment the Ringleaders had obtain'd their Wiſhes, their firſt Attempt was to ſubdue and keep under, if not entirely to extirpate and aboliſh that very *Liberty*, whoſe Name they had before ſo loudly proclaim'd, and whoſe Defence they had ſo zealouſly undertaken. Which verifies the Character of *Factious* and *Seditious Incendiaries* given by the *Annaliſt*, from whom I have borrow'd the *Motto* of this Day: *Libertatem præferunt, ut Imperium evertant: ſi everterint, ipſam aggrediuntur.*

That we have a *Faction* here in *Great Britain*, fully anſwering this Deſcription, which hath employ'd the ſeveral Arts and Stratagems above-mentioned, for promoting its own Intereſts, and hath carried its Oppoſition to the Government to a very formidable Height; being not yet reduced by Ill-Succeſs, nor inclined to ſubmit and accept of a reaſonable Accommodation; is ſo very Notorious, that we every Day groan under the Experiments of this deplorable Truth. The *Confederacy* is of ſome ſtanding, well-form'd, and diſciplin'd, ſtrong and reſolute, and furniſh'd with every Requiſite, that may ſerve to bring a turbulent Seditious Crew of People as near as poſſible to the Reſemblance of a *Body Politick*. They have their Governors, Leaders, and Subalterns; their Squadrons and Battalions; their Councils and Aſſemblies; their *Exchequer* and Common Stock; their Orders and Methods of Diſcipline: They have their Principles of Unity, and what they call their *Cauſe*; their *Agents* are diſperſed up and down in every Quarter of the *Conſtitution*, both *Civil* and *Military*, *Temporal* and *Spiritual*, *Executive* and *Legiſlative*; and they have plentifully taſted of the Sweets of Power, and know very well what ſubſtantial Spoils are in View, and how rich a Feaſt for Ambition is before them, to attone for the Hazards they run, and to Reward all their Labours. The Neceſſity of Suppreſſing this inteſtine Foe, is no longer a Queſtion: The Wound muſt either Heal, or Feſter: And if we mean to *Stand*, we muſt ceaſe to be *Divided*. All the Diſpute is about the Means of Accompliſhing this good Work; and by what Medicinal Methods the fatal Rent may be cloſed up, and the Publick reſtor'd to its priſtin Vigour and Tranquility.

How

How far Equity will juſtify a *Government*, in treating an Enemy after the ſame manner, in which that Enemy treated the *Government*, when in his Power; need not now be inſiſted on: It is ſufficient, that whilſt the *Legiſlative* and *Executive Authority* are in honeſt Hands, they can never be at a Loſs to provide either for the Safety or Welfare of the Conſtitution. They are ſtrictly accountable for a right Uſe of that Power, which is depoſited with them; and *Faction* can never riſe in Competition with the *Eſtabliſhment*, if due Attention be given to all the publick Wants and Exigencies; if we carefully examine what is our weakeſt Side; where we lie moſt expoſed; what predominant Corruptions we are to reſtrain; what Dangers and ill Accidents it is for our Advantage to prevent; and in all theſe Caſes interpoſe in time, by the making or enforcing of good and wholſome *Laws*; which muſt not ſleep upon Record, nor dwindle to a *dead Letter*, but be duly and impartially *Executed*. The Publick Good muſt take place of Private Intereſt and Sollicitation, in the Diſtribution of *Rewards* and *Puniſhments*; and the Attributes of *Juſtice* and *Mercy*, however Temper'd and Blended together, muſt be ſtrictly reſtrain'd to their proper Objects. All Sanctuaries for dangerous firſt rate Criminals muſt be taken away; and their Hopes and Expectations of future Succeſs in their Attempts effectually cut off and remov'd. There muſt be no reſort to any *Third Power*, which deſtroys the Freedom and Independency of a Government. *Sedition* muſt have no Quarter given it, either when it acts the *Bully* or the *Hypocrite*; and in ſhort, the *Conſtitution* in *Church and State* muſt be the Meaſure and Standard of every Publick Perſon's Character, the Sum of his Pretenſions, the Mark of his Converſion or Steddineſs, and the *Tenure* of his Greatneſs and Authority. There can be no truer Indications of a declining *State* and a prevailing *Faction*, than when the Members of the one are more Unanimous, Hearty, and Vigilant, than thoſe of the other. When a Merit can be made by oppoſing the Government; when Men are paid for being Troubleſome and Uneaſy: When the Publick Enemies are either not detected, or not ſufficiently diſcourag'd; when *Sedition* bears a higher Price than *Loyalty*, and the Favours of the State are hardly an Equivalent for the Bribes and Expectations of a *Faction*: When Men can Clamour and Mutiny to more advantage, than others find in Obedience and Moderation; and have their Noiſe, their Jealouſie, their Lyes, Calumnies, and firſt Eſſays in Rebellion, Apprais'd and ſet to Account; then is Juſtice made a perfect Cripple, Authority grown Tame and Inſenſible, and *Faction*, unleſs its Career be ſtopt in time, will not fail to advance her Intereſts, Point by Point, till ſhe is mounted to the Pinnacle of her Ambition.

The *Whigs* can hardly think it worth their while to be Virtuous, when there is ſo little to be loſt, and ſo much to be gain'd by a vicious Character. We have known them Sell the *Birth-right* of *Britains*, at *One Shilling* a-piece, to all Comers. Curſing *God's Vicegerent* may be Compounded for at the Rate of *Twenty Mark*; and making away the Honour and Peace of their Country to Strangers, by Contract and Indenture, coſts only a few Words, the *dead Letter* of a *Tory Reſolution*. Whereas the Renown and Credit they gain with their Friends, the Zeal for their Party, of which theſe are the Proofs; their Lying without Meaſure for the Cauſe, their Clamours, Aſperſions, and Drudgery in the Mines of Scandal, their Rumours, falſe Accuſations, and hunting after Fears and Jealouſies, are a Trade of great Profit; and ſwell the Demands of their Friends to ſuch a height, that beſides their preſent Profuſeneſs; they are forc'd to charge extravagant Anticipations upon the *next happy Revolution*.

Is it a Time for theſe People to think of *Diſbanding*, whilſt they are held together by ſuch ſtrong Tyes, led on by ſuch Heroes and Champions, and have their Places of Shelter to reſort to? Thus Arm'd and Reinforc'd, they can ſecurely inſult the *drouſie Lyon*, and play about the *ſleeping Law*, without coming within the Reach of its Gripe. Why ſhould they trouble themſelves with the Fatigue of gaining Proſelytes and convincing others, when they can make *Pique* and *Whim* ſupply the Place of *Conſcience* and *Honour*, and carry more Weight in publick Affairs, than ſtrict *Principle*, or the tendereſt *Love* of one's Country? To what purpoſe ſhould they recollect their old Maxims and Meaſures? *Vox Populi* —— *The Three Eſtates* —— *De Majoribus omnes:* —— Theſe are trite obſolete Topicks. *Liberty*, glorious *Liberty*, is their Support againſt Numbers. *Majorities* were made for them to Roaſt and Prey upon; and if they cannot reduce them in Time, 'tis well if they do not Vote them out of the common Privileges of *Arithmetick*.

Can it be ſo much for their Advantage to Ruin their Party by compoſing our Diviſions, which are our only real Danger; as it is to keep up their Party by Teazing the Government, and Diſturbing the publick Peace, with the imaginary Dangers of *Popery*? Would any one have them ſpeak Truth, and Shame an *Old Friend*; when it is more to the Purpoſe to ſhare Profits with him, in the Sale of his beſt Commodity? The Antients had their *Genius* for almoſt every *Place*. The Papiſts make this Genius a Saint; and here in *Britain*, we have a *Pariſh-Ghoſt*, or ſome local Apparition, for almoſt every Town and Village in the Country; who has his conſtant Rounds and Times of ſhewing himſelf. Some Towns are infeſted with a *black Dog*: Others with a *white Sheet*: Some with a *Herſe* and *Dragons*; and others again with a *Night-walking Female* in Flame-colour Sattin. Now *Popery*, in imitation of theſe Spectres, is the more *General* and *National Scare-crow*; and the very Name of ſuch a *Goblin* ſhall ſtrike more Terror into *Women*, *Children*, *Apprentices*, and the weak Multitude; than the Authority of all the *Squires*, *Parſons*, and *Juſtices of the Peace*, in that Neighbourhood.

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